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SOCIALIZATION FOR BICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT--A CASE STUDY.

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AN INDIVIDUAL MAY RESPOND TO A BICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT IN A VARIETY OF WAYS RANGING FROM TOTAL REJECTION OF WESTERN VALUES, OR PASSIVE WITHDRAWAL FROM EITHER CULTURAL SYSTEM, TO CREATIVE PARTICIPATION IN BOTH CULTURES. TO DETERMINE WHAT EARLY SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCES MIGHT RESULT IN AN INDIVIDUAL'S SUCCESSFUL, CREATIVE ADJUSTMENT TO A BICULTURAL ENVIRONMENT, DETAILED DATA HAVE BEEN GATHERED ON ONE PARTICULARLY WELL-ADAPTED, BICULTURAL KWAKIUTL INDIAN. TAPED INTERVIEWS, OBSERVATION, STANDARD INTELLIGENCE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS, AND A CROSS-CULTURAL VALUE ORIENTATION QUESTIONNAIRE, AMONG OTHER RESEARCH TECHNIQUES, REVEALED THAT THE FOLLOWING FACTORS HAD AFFECTED THE SUBJECT'S SUCCESSFUL INTERNALIZATION OF BOTH WESTERN AND INDIAN VALUES--(1) BECAUSE OF HIS FAMILY BACKGROUND THE SUBJECT WAS SPECIFICALLY TRAINED FOR A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN KWAKIUTL SOCIETY AND THUS DEVELOPED THE CONFIDENT SENSE OF INDIAN IDENTITY NECESSARY FOR HIS BICULTURALISM, (2) THE SUBJECT HAD BOTH INDIAN AND WESTERN-ORIENTED MODELS WITH WHOM HE COULD IDENTIFY, (3) HE RECEIVED SPECIAL ATTENTION AND RESPECT FROM THESE MODELS AND THUS DEVELOPED A STRONG EGO, (4) WITH THE HELP OF HIS INDIAN SCHOOL TEACHER HE WAS TAUGHT TO ACTIVELY CONSIDER THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO CULTURES, AND (5) FREQUENT SOCIAL ISOLATION FROM HIS PEERS WHEN HE WAS YOUNG ALLOWED THE SUBJECT MORE FREEDOM FROM PAST TRADITION THAN HE WOULD HAVE HAD IF HE HAD PLAYED WITH OTHER TRIBAL CHILDREN, AND MORE OPPORTUNITY TO CHOOSE WHICH CULTURE HE WOULD FOLLOW IN PARTICULAR SITUATIONS. (LB)

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SOCIALIZATION FOR BICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT: A CASE STUDY

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Most studies of socialization concentrate upon those factors which influence the individual's ability to adjust to a particular sociocultural system. Thus, socialization has come to mean "the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make them more or less able members of their society" (Brim 1966:3). This process has been studied in small non-western societies as well as the more heterogeneous industrial societies of the West. In both types of societies the individual comes to share a common set of values, beliefs, and behavior patterns with the other members of his society. A very widespread situation has developed in the world where radically different cultural systems have come into intensive contact. This has resulted in a multicultural environment for which the individual is not well equipped by socialization within a single society. Evidence of this inadequate preparation may be seen from the fact that rapid culture change and the conflict of cultures often leads to social and personal disorganization. A leading anthropologist has spoken of many non-western societies in this situation as "detribalized" with certain characteristics:

> A stereotype arose of the deprived man who in his deprivation merely turned inward to his memories of an older culture, or backward to despair. Such a man, it was said, was detribalized--he had been robbed of his own values and his own culture but he had been given nothing to take its place (Bohannon 1963:393).

The responses to the intensive contact between different societies are actually more varied than this. Five different types of responses may be delineated. Some individuals cling more tenaciously to the native culture, rejecting all or most of the ways of the West. Others respond by rejecting both cultures and creating a new system of beliefs and values which often have found expression in religious cults. The Peyote and Shaker religions of the American Indians and the Cargo Cults of Melanesia are examples of this type

of response (Lanternari 1963). A third type of response is seen in those who reject their native culture and become assimilated to the values of Western culture. Among the North American Indians there is a small minority who each year move off their reservations and are assimilated into the larger population. The fourth type of response, and most widespread among North American Indians, is to remain suspended between the two cultural systems. These transitional individuals seem to be unable to internalize the values of either culture sufficiently to provide for stable behavior patterns. They respond to culture conflict by escaping through excessive drinking and passive withdrawal. They are characterized by a high degree of anxiety, personality disorganization, and live in a disorganized social environment (Spindler 1957).

The final type of response, often overlooked by social scientists, is represented by those who creatively and successfully adjust to the multicultural environment and the culture conflict which usually results. Such individuals seem to rise above their situation by means of a special form of adaptation: they become bicultural. They learn to participate in two or more cultural systems at the same time, moving back and forth between them. Bohannon states,

> Response to the impact situation has led to the development of exceptional human beings; people with an extraordinarily wide range of cultural capability. It is a remarkable achievement that an African can one day participate with full commitment in a ritual, the next day step into a helicopter and go campaigning for votes, the next day board a plane to London or Paris and hold a successful conference there with representatives from many countries and cultures, and the next day fly to New York to manipulate international tensions in an appearance at the United Nations. All with the ease and assurance that comes with knowledge (Bohannon 1963:397).

This type of response is highly adaptive to the realities of culture conflict. In a world where the intensive contact between different cultural systems is increasingly becoming the norm, bicultural individuals are required. Their task is not simply to learn a new culture, but to learn how to live in two

radically different cultures at the same time. Some of the skills for such an adjustment are probably acquired during socialization experiences. An important research task is to discover those early experiences which contributed to the ability of such individuals to become bicultural. This paper represents an exploratory research of this type.

The representative case method was employed in this study for several reasons (Shontz 1965). The limited number of bicultural individuals made a large sample difficult to obtain. Lack of previous studies suggested that an intensive case study to identify variables for further research would be strategic. Finally, the difficulties inherent in cross-cultural personality research made this approach the most reliable. This method requires at least three things: (a) the statement of a problem in theoretical terms, (b) the selection of a single case in terms of his representativeness with respect to the problem, and (c) the collection and analysis of a large amount of data collected by different techniques. Since the problem has already been sketched, it remains to indicate the representativeness of the subject selected, how the data were collected, and a summary of the major findings.

For this study, a representative case was an individual who was clearly bicultural. In 1964 an intensive study was begun on a fifty-two year old Kwakiutl Indian of British Columbia. This group was made famous in anthropological literature by Ruth Benedict's book, Patterns of Culture (1934). They came into intensive contact with the West a little over 100 years ago. In 1835 the population was over 10,000 but this has been reduced to about 4,000 Indians. Most of them live on reservations which have been set up at the sites of their traditional villages. The following brief summary indicates that the subject is a bicultural individual. He was married in both an Indian ceremony and the Anglican church at the age of 13 to a girl chosen by his family.

During his 20's he was initiated into the Kwakiutl Cannibal Society in an involved ten-day ceremony. About the same time he was confirmed in the Anglican church. He participated in the traditional potlatches where large sums of money were given away and at the same time gathered enough capital to be one of the first Indians to own his own large commercial fishing boat. He holds many high-ranking positions in the Kwakiutl tribal system. Also, he was the first elected chief among the Kwakiutl and has many leadership roles which involve White society. In recent years he built his own modern home which includes a freezer and an expensive television set. He was also responsible for building a large traditional community house complete with totem poles and a fire in the center. He leads many of the Kwakiutl ceremonies in this house. He has been licensed as a lay reader in the Anglican church and often preaches on Sunday morning. At the same time he knows the myths of his native culture and holds the traditional belief about reincarnation. In 1964 he flew to Ottawa to meet with representatives of the Federal government and returned home to put on a large potlatch where he gave several hundred dollars away in cash. He was responsible in 1965 for creating a new biracial committee to deal with juvenile delinquency and in that same year he started a native organization to make and sell the arts and crafts of his people. His participation in two systems is based on a strong commitment to both ways of life. He has internalized the values of both societies and is clearly a bicultural Indian.

A large amount of data has been collected over a two and one-half year period through intensive interviews, observation, and other means. An extensive autobiography was gathered by means of tape recorded interviews which totals nearly 500 typewritten pages. The subject was observed in his natural

environment which included his home, his fishing boat, Indian ceremonies, and in many different roles related to both societies. Information was gathered by means of several standard intelligence tests, the Rorschach, the TAT, a sentence completion test, self-identity test, cross-cultural value orientation questionnaire, and a number of structured interviews. Finally, interviews were held with Indian and White individuals who were well acquainted with the subject.

There are five major conclusions which summarize the findings regarding the subject's socialization experience. First, the subject was actively and purposely socialized into Kwakiutl culture. Kwakiutl society was highly stratified and individuals at the top of the hierarchy were known as "chiefs." Since one's place in society was determined by birth, children were trained to take their respective positions in the social status system when they became adults. Due to the premature death of the subject's father he was the only possible heir to a number of the highest positions in the society through his mother's and father's sides of the family. As a result there were many relatives who took special pains to train him to be a leading Kwakiutl chief. The subject recalled many early experiences where he was treated differently from other children because of this. He states:

> This was the aim of my parents, and the people who was standing around me, all my uncles from the different villages. They wanted to see me uphold my name, 'cause this will be the beginning of our name which has been down, lost these past years when my grandfather died and my father died, and there was a gap between them. And that's all they used to tell me when I was a little boy, "Never forget that name."

The reliability of such memories is increased by the data gathered from the subject's uncle who lived in the same large community house with him and was about the same age.

> I was never real strong for the Indian customs but Jimmy was because he was taught by my dad to be like that. My people never forced me to learn all those things. But they were fond of Jimmy, very fond of Jimmy. In our Indian custom they do that, they always choose the oldest boy. Jimmy was chosen because he was the oldest. All our people work together to bring him into this Indian way and to be respected by the people. That's just the way it is and they taught him.

As a result of culture conflict, many Indians had begun to question the validity of their way of life and this often weakened the effect of socialization. Many children were sent away to live at a residential school which reduced the amount of Indian socialization they received. The subject was kept out of this school for that very reason and was actively trained to be an Indian.

One important result of this type of socialization was that he developed a strong, positive, Indian identity. The nature of the contact situation between Indian and Whites has led many Indians to question the worth of their Indian identity. Because of the superiority claimed by the Whites and the myth of racial inferiority which has been used to explain their behavior, Indians tend to find it difficult to develop a sense of worth <u>as Indians</u>. The subject's experiences suggest that in order to be bicultural, an individual may need a positive core identity in that culture which most others consider him to be a part of. When this sense of Indian worth is combined with other factors, identification with White society and goals is also possible. Without this, one of the other responses may result.

<u>Second, the subject had a large number of identity models representing wide differences in cultural orientation</u>. The two most important ones were his grandfather who represented Kwakiutl culture, and an Indian school teacher who represented White culture. In addition there were at least a dozen other adults who were significant models for him. His mother and two different step-fathers were Kwakiutl in orientation. At the age of six he moved to an Indian

and White community to live with his grandmother. There he came into close contact with a number of White people and acquired two godmothers who were highly acculturated. This wide range of nurturant models appears to have been significant in developing the capacity to identify with contrasting patterns of behavior.

Third, the subject received an extraordinary amount of attention and respect from these identity models. Because he had inherited the right to a number of high positions in Kwakiutl society he was respected and treated with special favor by a great many of them. He was told often of the first potlatch given for him when he was only ten months old. He recalled,

> My uncle held me in his arms. He put the copper down and lay it down on the ground and announced to the people: "Here is my great nephew and we are very proud to have him and I am very proud to see him and to stand by him, and to be chosen to take this position to be with him. He is going to take everything from his grandfather." And he lay me on this copper, a little bundle you know, and he announced to the people that this will be his strength. And then all the chiefs of the different villages get up and praise me because I was a new chief coming up. And that's the time they gave me my chief's name that is right at the top of my people.

Others within his kinship group treated him with special favor because of his position. Outside of his kinship group he received special attention from a number of adults who perceived him as a fatherless child in need of care or receptive to their interest. The Indian school teacher had no children of his own and treated the subject like a son for this reason. Such treatment seems to have contributed significantly to the subject's high degree of ego strength and self confidence which formed a basis for bicultural adjustment.

Fourth, the subject was consciously confronted with the major differences between the two cultural systems in a positive experience. For most Indians,

the differences between the two systems are not well understood. There is only a general awareness that something is different about the two cultures. When an Indian is consciously confronted with differences it is often in a negative and painful situation. Such situations have included jail sentences for participating in Indian ceremonies, exclusion from White institutions, and other forms of discrimination. While the subject shared some experiences with the rest of his society, there was one experience from his seventh to his tenth year where he was formally taught to think about the different value systems and see that they were in conflict. The Indian school teacher would often invite him to his home in the evenings and the two of them would discuss the culture conflict problems. He recalled this experience:

> I used to talk very seriously with my teacher. We talked about the church and the Indian customs. He used to ask me if we could have a little debate. He used to be on the side of the potlatch and I'd be on the side of the law. And he used to tell me to criticize all I can about the potlatches. I used to try, but I can never beat him. Everything that he had done in the old ways of the Indians was always better than what I'd try to say.

Such an experience in a non-threatening situation appears to have helped provide him with the skills necessary for participating in such different cultural systems.

Finally, the subject had an early experience of aloneness and freedom. Without a father he had a great degree of freedom to move from one relative to another. For a number of his early years he lived alone with his grandmother. During this time he was rejected by many of the other children of the village because he did not belong to their tribe. As a result he spent much of his time playing alone and making his own playthings. This factor, along with the large number of socializing agents, appears to have given him a greater degree of freedom from past tradition. There is a great deal

of evidence that the subject, while maintaining a strong commitment to much of Kwakiutl culture, also has had the freedom to create new culture patterns through the process of innovation. He has the freedom which is required to participate in more than one cultural system. This freedom to deviate from the Kwakiutl cultural norms by also living in terms of White cultural norms seems to be linked to these early experiences of social isolation and freedom.

In summary, the subject of this study was shown to be a bicultural individual. He has adapted to the two cultures which make up the social environment of the present day Kwakiutl by participating in both of them. He plays many roles in both social systems and pursues the values of both cultures. A study of his socialization experiences brought the following features to light: He was actively socialized to be an Indian which developed within him a positive core of Indian identity. He had a large number of models who represented different cultural orientations. He received extraordinary respect and attention from them which contributed to his ego strength. The positive experience of consciously understanding the major differences between the two cultures seems to have prepared him to live with two contradictory cultural systems quite comfortably. Early freedom and social isolation led to the capacity to be free enough from the norms of both cultures to choose which culture he would follow in particular situations. These socialization experiences appear to have been crucial in the development of his bicultural capacities.

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